matter favourably, but, Sir, nothing has been done till now. I would again bring this matter before the Government for favourable consideration.

(f) Engineering—Irrigation in Chittur—Boring operations in Nemmara.—I am very glad to place before the Council the good work done by the Chief Engineer in working out the Mulattara Irrigation System at Chittur, and the Nemmara Drinking Water Scheme. I hope the Chief Engineer will only redouble his efforts in future so that the maximum benefit may be realised out of these systems.

With these few remarks, I beg to close my say.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Sir, before I make a few observations on the preliminary budget, I desire to voice the feelings of profound thankfulness to God Almighty, entertained by all classes of people in the State, in having restored our beloved Maharaja to vigorous health, thus enabling him to exercise greater supervision in the details of administration. I would also pay my sincere and disinterested tribute to the very efficient itinerary work of our Diwan. He has toured all over the country, and visited most of our public institutions, and his notes of inspection are very suggestive and thorough. I believe that his long experience as a Judicial Officer has impressed upon him the necessity of getting at first-hand information, and avoiding hearsay. I desire also to observe that the Heads of the various Departments have been exhibiting a keen desire to profit by the discussions in this House, to rise to the occasion, and meet the legitimate demands of non-official members for information regarding the work of the departments. The enthusiastic interest evinced by members of the Ruling Family, and by visitors here, both from within the State and outside it, is a source of great encouragement, and their appreciation of the good work done by this Council last year is also a matter of gratification and just pride.

These remarks are but a prelude to the demand that I now want to make, for associating the people in a greater measure in the administration of the State, and for the creation of an Executive Council. (*Hear, hear.*) Many of you might be aware of the memorandum submitted a few years ago, by the Cochin Mahajana Sabha, to the Government, requesting for the grant of responsible self-government to the people. It extracts Bishop Whitehead's opinion that the establishment of a responsible government may be tried, preferably, with advantage in any educated Indian State. So far as education is concerned,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Cochin, admittedly, stands in the front rank, and in the light of our past experience, I would unhesitatingly say, that the time has come to make the Government more and more responsible to the people, and to keep the administration under the control of this House. An Executive Council would be very useful, in checking the vagaries of responsible officers, and in chalking out progressive lines of administration. I do not think, with the Member for the Jenmi Constituency, that either the Diwan or the Maharaja is Consul, wielding uncontrolled power in matters financial, and in disposing of the loaves and fishes of office. The existing checks are insufficient, and the establishment of an Executive Council would be fruitful in controlling expenditure, regulating appointments and in shaping our policy according to the needs and sentiments of intelligent public opinion.

I would thank the Finance Member for the refreshingly frank and lucid statement that he has prepared. It bristles with a longing for progress, it breathes sympathy with the higher aspirations of the people, but I would not commend his suggestions for imposing either new or additional taxation. Our aim ought to be to effect retrenchments, without impairing efficiency, and also to re-organise some of the departments. It is indeed gratifying to note that the votable portion of expenditure is slightly in excess of what it was last year.

I wish, in the first instance, to point out that the inclusion of the details of receipts and expenditure under Devaswoms is unnecessary and inappropriate. The management of Devaswoms by the Sirkar is analagous to the administration of an Estate by the Court of Wards. Devaswoms make a pensionary contribution to the Sirkar in respect of the services of superior officers lent for the purpose. Devaswoms are also allowed to bank with the Government. The Sirkar is responsible for the proper management of these Devaswoms, which are purely Hindu institutions. None but Hindus are interested in them. It seems to me, therefore, that these detailed figures are entirely out of place in the budget of the State.

In dealing with the State finance and taxation, one's mind irresistably goes back to the cardinal principles laid down by that great Hindu poet, Kalidasa. He says:—

"പ്രജാനാമേവഭൂത്യർത്ഥം സതാംഭ്യോബലി മഗ്രഹീൽ
സഹസ്ര ഗുണമുൽ സൃഷ്ടും ആദത്തേ ഹിര സംരവിഃ"

I shall give a free translation of this verse. The King (Dileepa) collected taxes from his subjects only for augmenting their welfare; it is well-known that the Sun who draws unto him the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

waters of the earth, returns the same a thousand fold in the shape of rain to create plenty (in the land).

It is fortunate that the Royal Family of Cochin has been wittingly or unwittingly acting up to this principle in the matter of Palace expenditure. The Royal Family consumes only a very small fraction of the State income. Five lakhs out of seventy cannot be reasonably objected to. I am aware that the present budget makes provision for another three lakhs and odd for the construction of Palaces, etc. This is only a temporary item of expense, more in the nature of an investment without interest.

My complaint is that the remaining sixty-five lakhs are not utilised in the best feasible manner to promote the prosperity of the people. Last year, I pointed out that the administration was unduly top-heavy. We have to cut our coat according to the length of the cloth on hand. The Heads of Departments are paid abnormally liberal salaries, whereas the subordinate staff and the menial staff are severely left in the lurch. Except the Diwan and the Judges of the Chief Court, no other Departmental Heads should be paid a salary in excess of rupees six hundred a month. The importation of foreign officers of average capacity and mediocre ability, (but possessed of the glamour of being in foreign service), on unjustifiably high salaries, cannot but be condemned. Our men of superior ability and culture are not properly appreciated here; they thrive well outside Cochin Government service. The fixing of the maximum salary at six hundred rupees would be a wholesome check on the influx of foreign officers. Sufficiently capable and qualified Cochinites could be found in the State to be appointed to these posts of responsibility, honour and trust, and I am sure that their sense of patriotism and love for the Motherland would induce them to accept office on these terms. If we make up our mind to appoint Cochinites alone for service in the State, the problem of unemployment could also be solved to a certain extent. The adoption of the time-scale system of increment, coupled with the efficiency bar, as far as possible, should be immediately taken on hand. *The Civil List* shows the glaring disparity in the salaries of officers of the same standing and qualifications, but employed in different departments and in different grades of service.

Another point on which I wish to emphasise is that officers, except Magistrates, Munsiffs and Judges, may as far as possible be posted in offices situate either in their native places or in the vicinity. A considerable saving in expenditure resulting therefrom would in a way make up for their low salary. I notice

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

that the Education Department has been the greatest sinner in this respect.

The clubbing together or the fusion of departments without impairing efficiency is another subject worthy of serious consideration. I venture to make a few suggestions. The Excise Department was, for a long time, under the Diwan Peishkar. The budget shows an income under this head of Rs. 31,000 and odd more than that of last year. A closer examination of details reveals the fact that the auction sale of toddy shops has fetched an excess of Rs. 55,000 and odd. Increase in rentals would naturally increase the retail price of liquor. The habitual drunkard finds it impracticable to shake off his carving for intoxicants, and a large slice of his earnings would be set apart for drink, and as a result expenditure on drink deprives the members of his family of the means of obtaining necessaries of life. Income from the auction sale of intoxicants is indeed unholy, and all civilised governments have been ever expressing their solicitude to minimise the consumption of liquor and suggesting all sorts of remedial measures.

President.—There is the doctrine of maximum revenue and minimum consumption.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Yes, Sir, and many others too. I have no time to discuss the matter at length, but we find that all these principles are but clever camouflages to pacify the opponent, and that they have been entirely futile. Excise Revenue has always been on the increase year after year. Pages 5 and 6 of the *Budget* show that the income expected from this department is Rs. 9,11,600, and by a curious irony of circumstance the net expenditure on Education also comes to very nearly this figure.

Mr. C. Matthai.—It is not net, Sir, but gross.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—No. Twelve *minus* three is nine.

Mr. C. Matthai.—That is right.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Unfortunately, we find that the average *per capita* contribution towards Education is the same as to get intoxicated. It is, perhaps, a consolation that bad money thus earned is spent for a good purpose. The increase in Excise Revenue is not a matter for congratulation but one for deep regret and serious consideration. I believe that the anxiety to show an increase in receipts would vanish by putting this department under the Diwan Peishkar. An officer corresponding to the grade of a Tahsildar could very well manage affairs under him.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

The Co-operative Department may, I think, be usefully brought under the Superintendent of Agriculture. State help for agricultural development can best be rendered through agricultural co-operative banks, and both the Government of Great Britain and the Supreme Government in India have unequivocally expressed this view.

I would next urge that there is no need for the separate existence of the Tramway Department. The maintenance of the Tramway has been an annual drain on the revenues of the State and the sooner the department is abolished, the better for the State. Till then, it may usefully be split up and placed partly under the Conservator of Forests and partly under the Chief Engineer, in accordance with the nature of the work divided. These three amalgamations will reduce establishment charges considerably and materially curtail expenditure in other directions as well.

Passing on to other items, I consider the explanation given by the Finance Member for decrease in Land Revenue as due to "the non-disposal of forest exclusions and Chittur *Kanom* lands" is erroneous. Money realised by the sale of land at the disposal of the Government should not be treated as Land Revenue proper.

Our expenditure for the Harbour Works is treated as a capital investment. I have my own doubts in so treating it. These investments may or may not prove profitable. What was pointed out, during the discussion on the budget, last year, was that, being a matter the benefits of which have to be borne by posterity, a loan may be floated, and the burden of discharging it equally distributed over a number of years, and I fancy that the annual contribution has to be treated as an item of expenditure.

The amounts proposed to be spent on the Tanikudom Project cannot also be treated as a capital investment.

Taking all these facts into consideration, I cannot quite agree that the budget presented before the House, is really a surplus budget.

President.—Your time is up.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—I would like to refer to a few more points.

President.—You are entitled to twenty minutes alone, you have already taken up 25 minutes. You had better stop.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—I bow to your ruling. I shall refer to the remaining points when I deal with my token motions.

Mr. M. Krishna Menon.—The budget presented before this House by the Government for the coming year is certainly

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

a surplus one. I will go a step further and call it a prosperous one. But I am sorry I cannot congratulate the Finance Member, because he has totally forgotten or ignored the starving low-paid subordinates in the Government service even in the time of prosperity. Sir, you have provided for Palaces, electric lights, and motor cars. I do not complain. But, Sir, I ask you what provision have you made for your starving low-paid officers of the State ? When you provided double first class for travelling allowance and Rs. 5 for daily *batta* to your Heads of Departments, did you bestow a thought upon the low-paid clerks and menials of their offices ? You say in your statement that you will be able to save more than 1½ lakhs by the end of the coming year. But do you, Sir, realise that it is by starving more than half of your subordinates. The Government will admit the fact that the prices for the necessaries of life have increased at least cent per cent within the last ten years. The Government in 1093 or so felt the necessity of giving scarcity allowance to the subordinate staff. But it was subsequently withdrawn on a promise of re-organising and increasing their pay. How many years have elapsed, and what has the Government done ? The Government may say that "we have appointed a Committee to go into the question, and we will do everything after we get their report." My answer to this is only a repetition of the reply given by the President to a question why so many officers were confirmed before the receipt of the Report of the Finance Committee. The President replied " that the Government must get on ". I say that the subordinate staff also must get on. There is absolutely no use telling a starving man that I have sent for *samans* for a treat next week when I propose to give you a sumptuous meal. In the revised estimate there is an increase of 22 thousand rupees under the head "Religious and Charities." I ask you, Sir, why you did not begin charity first at home ? The house-owner, the Municipal bill collector, and the provision vendor will not wait for the Finance Committee's Report. The educational authorities will not admit their children in schools, if they say that the fees will be paid after the Committee's Report. In shor,t I am sorry to say that the subordinate service at present has justified the truth of the old Malayalam proverb " തന്നെളുണ്ടം വണ്ണാത്തപ്പുല്ലും ". So I earnestly request the Government to set apart sufficient funds, at least to renew the scarcity allowance from the beginning of the next year. I am sure that all the non-official members of this House will join with me in this request.

With regard to other matters, I have no complaint. I perfectly agree with the policy and principle followed by the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

present administration. When compared with our Sister State of Travancore, one cannot but admit that we are on a far higher level. Our Judicial administration, Revenue administration and Police administration are far ahead. We are certainly more contented and happy under the benign rule of His Highness.

May God give long life to His Highness!

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—Sir, last year, the budget estimate presented by the Government to this House was a deficit one, but the House helped the Government to convert it into a surplus one. This year, I congratulate the Government for having presented a surplus budget, and saved the Council the trouble of making a surplus budget.

It is certainly a matter for satisfaction that the present year is expected to close with a much bigger surplus than what was anticipated at the budget session, last year, though no particular Departmental Head deserves any credit for it.

It is, however, not gratifying to note that the estimate of receipts for 1102 is less than the estimate of receipts for 1101, while there is very little difference between the estimate for charges for the 2 years. It is high time that earnest attempts are made to cut down the expenditure and increase the receipts without having recourse to additional taxation.

I may mention here a few ways of increasing the revenue of the State which the Government will do well to consider deeply:—

(1) Increase the area of land under cultivation and give facilities for increasing the yield of the land already under cultivation

(2) Industrial development.

(3) The floatation of a State Bank or a State aided Bank.

(4) Taking charge of the administration of State Railways.

In this connection, I have to say one word. Terminal charges are now received by the Madura Co. When a thing goes to Cochin, the terminal charges are received by the Madura Company, and when it comes over to Ernakulam, the terminal charges are received by the Railways. So, in the course of the year, we loose a sum of 35 or 40 thousand rupees in the shape of terminal charges.

President.—What is the remedy you propose?

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—Terminal charges must be received here.

I have not exhausted the sources for additional revenue, but have mentioned only a few.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Regarding the cutting down of expenditure, the various cuts proposed by the members of this House will show how the wind blows, and how it ought to blow.

Passing on to the various heads of Receipts and Expenditure, no increase is anticipated from the important head of Land Revenue.

Taking into account the Land Revenue derived for the last 3 and 4 years, it would appear as if we had reached our maximum, and we are more or less stationary. This is certainly very discouraging, as the Land Revenue is one of the chief sources, if not, the chief source of revenue of the State, whereas, in the matter of expenditure, we have certainly not reached the limit.

Without first spending a substantial sum—this cannot be considered as an expenditure but only an investment—it is idle to expect any substantial increase.

Mr. President, I hope I am not out of order, if I take this opportunity to tell you how very much disappointed the accredited representatives of the people in this House felt, when the Government set at nought my resolution on irrigation which was passed unanimously by the non-officials.

Under Agriculture and Panchayats, the receipts estimated from Agriculture proper is qute inadequate, considering the heavy expenditure under that head, with which I shall deal later on.

Passing on to Abkari and Ganja, I do not know if it is a matter for satisfaction that the Government should go on anticipating more revenue under this head, when the cry everywhere seems to be to prohibit and to go dry. At least our *Kole* lands have taken up the cry and become dried. The increase under Tobacco does not also seem to be very welcome.

Passing on to Forest and Tramway, it is unfortunate that Government should have framed the estimate in such a way as not to make it easy or even possible to judge for this Council how far it is advisable to continue to maintain this Siamese Elephant of Tramway. Under 'Tramway' it is noted that the income from traffic carried for the public is Rs. 15,000. If it had been added, at least as a foot-note, what the income of the Tramway would have been, if all Sirkar timber, transported, were charged the usual rate of traffic charged for the public, it would have been possible to judge from the expenditure on that head to say if it was wise to continue the maintenance of the Tram. It may be true that, by abolishing the Tramway, the revenue under Forests may go down to some extent, but it is quite possible that the net saving effected under the two heads may be more.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

President.—Have you got the figures now? On account of the transport of Sirkar timber, how much do we get?

Mr. K. Govinda Menon.—I will give it in my reply.

President.—You have not got it ready? I think you can say that.

Mr. K. Govinda Menon.—Taking credit for the transport charges of Sirkar timber by Tramway, we are gainers. We get more than we spend—much more.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—It was originally calculated that 22 thousand candies of timber should be transported by the Tramway, but 22,000 candies were not transported except in 2 or 3 years.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—It is, however, encouraging that the Diwan—President went to the spot, made personal enquiries, and after mature consideration, gave up the idea of extending the line, and resolved as pronounced yesterday, if I am correct, not to spend anything more on it before an examination of the results of 1102.

President.—What I said was, there is enough timber for working for 3 years, and I wanted to know whether his anticipation would be realised, and hence wait for the result at the end of 1102.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—That is encouraging, no doubt.

President.—Hope for 3 years to come. One year I will watch, surely.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—As regards Jails, it must be possible to increase the revenue by making the prisoners do more lucrative work, instead of wasting much physical energy on hand-looms and hand tape-making machines. With not a very big investment it should be possible to instal a few power-looms in the Jail and turn out at least the requirements of the other State Departments, namely, Police, Salt, Military, etc. Let me hope that the Economic Development Board will take up this question and make recommendations to the Government in due course.

Under Education, even at the risk of being called conservative or old-fashioned, I venture to suggest that, unless the expenditure under that head can be cut down, the receipts must be increased. Female education can no longer be said to be backward. The receipts from Girls' Schools do not appear to be proportionate to those from Boys' Schools. I am informed that girls are charged only half fees. I do not see why their fees should not be raised to ¾ of the Boys' fees, if not, equal to that. I may be excused if, by the way, I remark that the present sys-

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

tem of education is rotten to the core or only adds to discontentment and increases unemployment. More about this, when I come to the the expenditure side to which I now pass on.

In spite of the scathing criticisms levelled against the Member for Agriculture by many of the non-officials of this House, I do not think he will be able to give a better account of his department this year. It is very strange that, while rapid strides are being made in Agriculture and Industries in the sister States and British India, the Department of Agriculture in our State should not be able to claim to have contributed to the increase of the material resources of the country. I am yet to be convinced that, after the advent of the Agricultural Department, the yield of food products has increased to any the slightest extent, the cultivation of any new crops has been introduced into the State on any large scale, and that the breed of cattle has, in any way, improved. The fault appears to be due to aping. It is high time that the department ceases to be an ornamental one. Much can be done, much has to be done , and much must be done without any more loss of time. More about this, when I deal with my cut regarding the department.

Regarding Co-operative Societies, I am constrained to remark that an opinion is prevalent that this department is also more an ornamental one than a useful one, as it is now administered. Much can be learned from Japan, in this respect, and the Registrar of Co-operative Societies will do well to study the Japanese methods of administering Co-operative Societies.

Passing on to Excise, I may call the attention of this House to the fact that years ago Cochin was manufacturing her own salt, and it will certainly be worth attempting to re-introduce the industry so that salt of a better quality and at a cheaper rate can be supplied to the public. I am told that the salt industry is working successfully in the Sister State of Travancore.

Passing on to Anchal, the expenses do not appear to be commensurate with the income which is only 5,000 rupees more than the expenditure. Even though the British Post is a bit costlier than the Anchal, I have very often found persons and commercial bodies preferring the British Post to the Anchal Department, even for places served by the Anchal. They state that the British Post, though a bit more costly, serves sooner and surer. The Government will do well to enquire how much truth there is in this allegation. The introduction of the Savings Bank and the system of insurance, etc., as in the Postal Department would augment the revenue of the department.

It is a matter for real satisfaction that provision in the budget for better supply of water in the Jail has been made. It was

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

a real grievance last year, so much so that it is reported that water had to be purchased—perhaps, not at Government expense—to quench the thirst of the prisoners.

Dealing about the Police administration, the one notable absence is efficient fire-extinguishing apparatues in all the big towns of the State. Let me hope that at least the next year's budget will contain some provision for fire-extinguishing apparatues.

Under Education, I have only to remark, at this stage, that the provision made for imparting industrial and technical education is quite inadequate. More about this when I deal with the cuts.

Under Medical, no provision appears to have been made to give effect to a resolution passed in this Council about 'establishing a Central Ayurvedic Hospital in the State'. Whether scientific or unscientific, the Ayurvedic system is cheaper, more satisfactory in results, at least as far as Indians are concerned, and it will certainly be found that, started side by side, an Ayurvedic Hospital will attract more patients than an Allopathic Hospital, and I hope that effect to the said resolution will soon be given.

About the heads of administration, I shall deal, when the cuts under them are taken up for consideration. But before closing, I must remark that an impression has gained ground that the Government, instead of taking this House into confidence, in all the important matters of administration, is very often using or abusing its powers by vetoing the resolutions passed, by putting under italics, items of expenditure, which, they think, is not likely to meet with the approval of this House. The practice of including some big items in the budget before discussing the matter fully in the House and giving its members an opportunity to pronounce their opinion is not a desirable one. As an instance, I may cite the Tanikudam Project, in this year's budget and the Mattancheri Electric Scheme in the last year's budget. The interests of the Government and the governed are identical in our State, and there is, therefore, no reason why perfect harmony should not prevail between this House and the Government in all important matters of State administration. I have no doubt the Government will find that their confidence in this House is never misplaced.

President.—What is your objection about the provision for the Tanikudam Project?

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—We don't know whether there is a cut motion.

President.—There will be an opportunity to discuss the matter again. Is it non-votable?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.— It is votable.

Mr. T. A Ramachandra Ayyar.—We don't know what the scheme is. How can we send our cut motion without knowing what it is?

President.—If you send a cut motion, and the item of expenditure is necessary, you can withdraw. There is no harm in sending cut motions. So long as you are not satisfied with the necessity of expenditure, you can send cut motions.

We have very little time more. Let us rise.

The House rose for lunch and met again at 3 p. m.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Sir, it is now more than one year since the Legislative Council was inaugurated by our Gracious Maharaja. At the inaugural session, on behalf of the members of the Council, the Deputy President thanked His Highness, for ushering into existence this Council, and for the inspiring address which His Highness then delivered. Later, when this Council had its first business session in last July, most of us expressed our great indebtedness to His Highness, for associating the representatives of the people with the Government of the State, and, at the same time pointed out that more powers should, before long, be conferred on this House, in order to make it a really useful institution to the people and the State.

Let me not attempt here to take stock of the achievements and failures of this Council, but briefly explain its history. The idea of giving the people of the State an effective voice in the administration of the State was first publicly announced by our beloved Ex-Maharaja. So late as 1088, when no ruler of any Indian State thought of making the representatives of the people partners in the administration of the country, and when the political horizon of British India was very tranquil and placid, His Highness as a true and democratic ruler, voluntarily announced that steps should be taken for giving the people a substantial and effective voice in and control over, the administration of the State. Unfortunately to the great regret of all, before translating the expressed desire into practical shape, His Highness had to abdicate. It was really ungrateful on the part of the Ex-Diwan, Mr. P. Narayana Menon, not to have made any reference to the epoch-making announcement of the benign ex-Ruler of the State, when he narrated the history of this Council at the inaugural session held in Meenam 1100. It may perhaps be the reason that he was feeling too shy to make mention of that historic announcement, when he was taking pride in bringing into existence, after the lapse of some 13 years, a Council having no effective voice in, and substantial control over, the administration

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

of the State. Needless to mention that the epoch-making announcement of the beloved ex-Ruler will remain boldly written in the constitutional history of our State.

Years slowly rolled on, and nothing was done to give the people a real voice in the administration of the State; and at last when people began to show signs of keen disappointment, a Proclamation was issued in Vrischigam 1096. By this time the momentous announcement of 1917 had been made in the Parliament by His Majesty's Government to take early steps for the development of self-governing institutions in India for the progressive realisation of responsible government. Some months after this, Mr. Montague visited India, and in consultation with Lord Chelmsford published the *Report on the Constitutional Reforms*, and introduced in British India the present reforms. Mark it, for all this, only some two years were taken by the British Government; but in our tiny State, after the announcement of 1912, a period of 13 years was required to introduce this Council. Our Council has thus a chequered and an inglorious history.

Mr. (now Sir) T. Vijayaraghavachariar, before he left us, had published the Rules of the Legislative Council, but, Mr. Narayana Menon, when he became the Diwan, found it necessary that those Rules should be re-drafted, and to do this he took a long time. It is really regrettable to note that Mr. Narayana Menon, instead of marching with the time, proved to be a man of old days and illiberal ideas. Instead of widening the powers of the Council, he circumscribed and narrowed them down. In section 11 of the Council Regulation which says that it is not lawful for the Council to consider and enact any measures relating to or affecting certain subjects, he included subjects which his predecessor had not included.

President.—Was there any real difference between the rules framed by Mr. (now Sir) T. Vijayaraghavachari and those of Mr. P. Narayana Menon ?

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Yes, Sir. Devaswam was not in section 11 and one or two other items, e. g., military, etc.

The ex-Diwan who prided in saying that he is a son of the soil did not thus prove himself a worthy son of the soil.

Let us briefly examine the part that has been played by the present Diwan who is also a son of the soil, and is enjoying a dual capacity, namely, that of the Diwan and the President of this House. We have to thank you, Sir, as the President of the Council for permitting us to discuss, when the Council is in session, the policy and action of the Government. But I will be

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

failing in my duty, if I do not mention that some of the rulings you have made have become subject matter for criticism in the press, which you must have taken notice of.

President.—Do you question my ruling ?

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Not in the least. I am not questioning your ruling. I do not say anything about that.

President.—You have no right to question my ruling. Those rulings are unquestionable, and you should not say anything about that in this discussion.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—I am discussing the general policy.

President.—You may discuss the general policy, but you should not question my rulings.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.—According to the Council law, a member is allowed to discuss the budget as a whole or a question of principle involved therein, but there is nothing there that permits him to question the rulings of the President.

President.—The rulings of the President are final. Whether this is the only one or two I must object to it.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—This is the only opportunity for us to discuss the subject.

President.—It is a discussion on my ruling which I cannot allow.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—I want these just to brought to your kind notice. I do not want to question your rulings.

President.—You must understand me. Before I give a ruling, I take care to consider all the aspects of the case. Probably, there may be differences of opinion. Another person may take a different view. For the purpose of regulating the conduct of this Council, my ruling must be accepted, and it cannot be questioned or discussed.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—I bow to your ruling.

I may mention here that the President of the Legislative Assembly has always been and is ready and willing to guide and advise his brother-Presidents of the legislative bodies in India, including Indian States, by giving his opinion on questions of interpretation of rules and regulations and on points of order. Several Presidents have sought his opinion, which, I understand, he is ungrudgingly giving. I appeal to you Sir, to refer doubtful points to the President of the Assembly of his opinion, as the Presidents of other Councils in India are doing.

As the inaugural session of this Council, His Highness desired that the representatives of the people in this House and the Government Officers should work in "complete unison with mutual trust, sympathy, and co-operation." In the last one year, that we have been doing so, no one will gainsay. You

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

have encouraged by your testimony that our work here has won your approbation. Further, you have brought us the inspiring message of His Highness that His Highness was well pleased with the calmness, wisdom and sobriety which characterised our deliberations and the eagerness to work the reforms successfully. Let me now refer to what Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State, said in the House of Lords, in July 1925, about further constitutional reforms in British India. To cite his own words:—

"There can be no reconsideration, until we see everywhere responsible leaders of Indian thought evidence of a sincere and genuine desire to co-operate with us in making the best of the existing constitution."

His Highness and also you have testified to the fact that we have fulfilled what was expected of us, and so we venture now to ask for our reward. The high standard of culture of the people of Cochin and the traditional deep sense of loyalty and devotion to their Ruler entitle the people of Cochin to be the first to enter into the field of an experiment of self-government in modern India. These facts embolden us to request His Highness and the Paramount Power to take early steps to introduce responsible government in our State. We believe the reward which we richly deserve will not be kept long from us.

In this twentieth century no one will deny the fact that the Press is holding a powerful position in all civilised countries. Our State, small as it is, is a progressive one in India. We were fortunate in getting for a long time wise and liberal statesmen to hold the reins of our Government, and none of them failed in giving due respect to the Press and their representatives. It is, therefore, very unfortunate to find that those who are in power now in our State administration is persuing a deviated course. They are not giving due respect to the criticisms that appear in the Press about the defects of the present administration. They are reluctant to render necessary convenience, much less hospitality, to the representatives of the Press outside the State, even when they come accompanying His Excellency the Governor of Madras. When the representatives of the Press come here to report what is taking place in this House, they have reasonably complained that they do not get the facilities given to them in other States. Is it because that the present administration is so rotten that publicity would be discouraged?

President.—I take objection to all these terms. You are making a speech on hearsay information.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—I got it from the papers. If it is objectionable, I beg to withdraw the same.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

I hope that the complaints of the Press will receive the sympathetic consideration of our Government.

In the learned *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* by Mr. Montague and Lord Chelms ford, the first formula that is laid down is (page 123) :—" There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control". Applying this standard, if we examine the local bodies in our State, we will find that they are far from satisfactory. It is of utmost importance that every effort should be made in local bodies to extend the franchise and to invest local bodies with wide powers. The central government must not, as far as possible, interfere in the affairs of administration entrusted to local bodies. The attempts made by our Government to bend the Ernakulam Municipality to accept as officers of the Municipality those whom the Government have selected deserve condemnation. Again, it was unwise on the part of the Government to appoint a Government official, instead of a non-official, to be the President of the Mattancheri Municipality, when that Municipality was deprived of its right to elect its Chairman. A Government official as President of a Municipality has to satisfy two masters., namely, the Government and the electorate. It is a well-known maxim that it is not possible to serve two masters at one and the same time. The earliest possible and practical opportunity must, therefore, be availed of by our Government to give that Municipality the right of having a nominated, if not, an elected non-official President.

Let me commend to the attention of our Government the *Report on Village Panchayats* submitted recently to the Government of Central Provinces by a Committee appointed by that Government. The Committee recommends that there should be a Panchayat Officer. That judicial and administrative functions should both be allotted to every Panchayat is another important recommendation made by that Committee. In commending these two recommendations to the attention of our Government, it deserves mention that in our State, out of 84 Panchayats, only 27 are administering justice. It is high time that other Panchayats also should be entrusted with judicial administration as well.

To protect and improve the well-being of all classes of people alike is a supreme duty of civilised States. The suppressed classes who form a large bulk of the population in our State are labouring under many disabilities and grovelling in darkness and ignorance. They are still in a semi-barbarous condition. In an article in the *Young India* Mahatma Gandhi

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

had, in moving terms, described their condition. Money spent in improving their condition is money spent for a highly laudable and necessary purpose. We remember with much satisfaction that strenuous efforts were made by Mr. (now Sir) T. Vijayaraghavachari to elevate them; but subsequent to his departure we find many of the special privileges offered to them were withdrawn. If his successors, who are sons of the soil, were pursuing his broad-minded and humane policy, the suppressed classes in our State would have been enjoying a far better position to-day. The advice which Mahatma Gandhi gives to Indian Rulers in his Presidential address at the Kathiawar Political Conference, held in 1925, is worthy of our attention. He says :—

"To succour the distressed is the special mission of Princes. They are the natural champions of the week. Will they not come to the aid of the suppressed classes? Princes live by the blessings of their subjects. Will they not enrich their own lives by earning the blessings of the suppressed? The scriptures proclaim that there is no difference between a Brahmin and a scavanger. Both have souls; both have five organs of sense. If they wish, the Princes can do much to ameliorate by association with them in a religious spirit. Let them found schools and sink wells for the suppressed and find a throne in their hearts."

These are words so pregnant with meaning that they should be repeated every morning in the ears of those who are in authority and power in our State.

Economy in expenditure without affecting efficiency should be the keynote of our financial policy. The Special Finance Committee appointed by our Government is not empowered to apply the pruning knife to all items of expenditure. From the budget before us, we find a large amount of money is earmarked for constructing and repairing buildings, for the members of the Ruling Family. The amount to be set apart for the use of the Ruling Family in one way or other should be within bounds. The Conferences of States' Subjects have been pointing out that the amount to be given for such a purpose should not exceed 5 per cent of the total revenue of the State. The late Maharaja of Gwalior has set an example by advocating that not more than 2 per cent revenues of the State should be taken for private expenses. If this is not acceptable, the proportion set by the Conferences of the States' Subjects should be adhered to. More than this, our tiny State, with its limited resources, cannot afford to pay.

We have entered into an alliance with unequal partners in constructing the Cochin Harbour. This House has no right

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

to scrutinise expenses under this head. Without the knowledge of the people of the State, lakhs of rupees are spent for the Harbour annually. To win public confidence, it is necessary to send to the Port Conservancy Board one or two non-officials elected by this House, to represent our Government. We hope the Government will see its way to get this done.

Travancore is one of our partners in this scheme. All her mportant towns are connected with Cochin by cheap water communication. In addition to this, the Travancore Government are going to connect them with Cochin by a net-work of Railway lines. Addressing the 22nd Session of the Popular Assembly, the Diwan pointed out that a net-work of Railways will connect all the important towns and productive districts in Travancore, and then they all will be connected by a main line with Cochin. Travancore is thus girding up her loins to make the best use of her partnership in the construction of the Harbour. Our Government, on the other hand, seem, to be sleeping like Rip Van Winkle to open their eyes and find that trade and commerce resulting from the construction of the Harbour have found their seats in Travancore. If they are once established there it will become almost impossible to regain them. To avoid this mishap, we have to keep our eyes and ears wide open and take effective steps to extend water communication and Railway line to all our important towns.

I am now reminded of the memorial to be submitted to our Government by the inhabitants of Kunnamkulam, Guruvayur and the neighbouring places in Cochin and British Malabar for extending a branch Railway line at least as far as Guruvayur. After the advent of the motor traffic, the number of passengers going to the famous shrine at Guruvayur has increased by leaps and bounds. If a Railway line is opened, because of the cheapness, quickness and comfort of the travelling, the number of passengers will considerably multiply, and this line will turn out to be a very profitable concern. Not only passenger traffic, but there will be heavy goods traffic as well. Coir and fish are abundantly exported from Chowghat throughout the year. The greater portion of the cocoanut oil from Ponnani to Chowghat and from most of the villages in the Talappalli Taluk is first brought to Kunnamkulam, and from there it is taken by bullock carts to Palghat, Shoranur and Pattambi for booking to different places. The Talappalli Taluk is producing arecanut, according to the figures supplied by our Government, worth Rs. 2,80,600 annually, and almost the whole of this is booked by rail, mainly from the above-mentioned Railway Stations, to Coimbatore, Bangalore, Trichinopoly, Ooty and other Eastern Districts. If a Railway is

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

opened from Trichur to Guruvayur through Kunnamkulam, it will become an important feeder line and a profitable industrial concern. As this line will run mostly through our State, Cochinites will mainly be the recipients of the advantages, and our State will get the lion's share of the income. It is in such profitable and sound industrial concerns that our surplus income should be invested. Then it will surely yield an annual income, and it will help the industrial and economic progress of the State.

(The speaker had to stop since the allotted time was over.)

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Mr. President, it is my most pleasant duty to tender my thanks and express my appreciation at the able way in which the Finance Minister has presented the budget to this House, and I congratulate him for his being able to present a surplus budget, and still more do I appreciate the clear and lucid explanation with which he has presented the Financial Statement for this year. Sir, before entering into the subject it would not be out of place, if I remind the members of the Government, the relative positions that they and we ourselves occupy here. Being brought up in an atmosphere of bureaucracy, and being not subject to criticism, they are likely to think and take it as an offence, if any hostile remarks were passed upon them. A spirit of intolerance to criticism will help no one here. There is no intention to cast any personal reflection upon their character. We look at this matter from two different view-points, and naturally, differences may arise in the course of such discussions. If I wound their feelings in any way, I can only hope and trust that they would accept the spirit in which we speak, and would take those remarks in a friendly manner. (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir, we, sitting on this side, are in a different position. We must look into these things and offer criticisms as we are bound to do as His Highness' opposition in the House. I hope we will not be misunderstood in offering a few remarks. Sir, generally speaking, the budget of a State like ours or any other State in India is inelastic. The revenues from the various sources remain practically the same or increase only in proportion to the increase of the population.

The only fluctuating item is the Port, and it is the good fortune of the Finance Minister that there has been a greater revenue from the source than was anticipated. That explains, I believe, the surplus nature of the budget.

Now, Sir, 7 lakhs has been budgetted for next year.

President.—We have budgetted for only 7 lakhs this year. This year the revised budget is for 9 and odd lakhs. It is not

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

taken into account for the large handsome amount you see this year. It is the only item in which we are progressing.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Now Sir, before I enter into minute discussion, I wish to make a general observation. The whole budget is divided into two headings, i. e., votable items and non-votable items. Under the non-votable items come the revenues derived from Port, Railway, Palace expenditure, etc. Other non-votable items come to somewhere near 8 lakhs or so, in the shape of salaries, allowance of officials, etc. Now, Sir, owing to political exigencies, a bar to our discussion is placed against the former items. I can only sympathise with the Government in their inability to allow us to discuss such vital questions as the Railways and the Port. It is matter for mutual sympathy and condolence. The next item is the Palace. I only wish to make one remark that the poverty of this State does not enable us to give a grant that would substantially keep them in their proper position and diginity. But, Sir, I ask you this question. Why is it that we are not allowed to discuss the pay and allowances of certain classes of officials? Is it because you think that we are a set of wolves who will pounce upon the official lambs and devour them? Granting that it is a principle that you want to keep the officials' salary beyond the criticism of the House, does it not follow that you should have brought all classes of officials in the State under the same protection. It seems to me that the humbler and the poor paid deserve your sympathy and protection more than the Heads of Departments. You will remember, Sir, at the inauguration of this Council, in the introduotory speech of His Highness the Maharaja, he said that he trusted that there would be mutual trust and co-operation between the officials and the non-officials. Now, Sir, does this indicate a spirit of co-operation and of loyalty and trust? The Government have been witnessing how this Council has been working, for more than a year. We do not come here for any unreasonable, opposition. You will remember that in the draft rules of the Legislative Council the salary of officials was not treated as non-votable. This was brought under that heading only when the non-officials of Bengal refused the salaries of ministers. But can you imagine such a contingency in this State where the non-officials would un-reasonably offer oppostion to the Government? I do not think so.

President.—What is the point?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Certain of the officials' pay cannot be discussed in this House.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

President.—Perhaps the peon's pay can be discussed in this House. It is a matter relating to the amendment of the rules.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—You must include the other officers also. I have to make a few more general observations. The budget presented to-day is for about 70 lakhs. It is not a real budget. As I have said, on the expenditure side you will see an item, Railway. I do not discuss this item of Railway. The difficulty that we labour under is that we see here, on the receipt side, 9 lakhs and about 8 lakhs on the expenditure side so that the net revenue is only one lakh. By putting the receipts and expenditure in this way in the budget, it creates an exaggerated notion about the income of the State. Suppose you construct a Railway from Kunnamkulam to Chittur—a distance of 60 miles. The Government will have to incur an expenditure of 75 lakhs. The result will be, on the gross revenue side, you will get 18 lakhs and on the expenditure side 95 or 96 lakhs. If this is included in the budget, then there will be a great increase both on the gross revenue side and the expenditure side of the budget.

Now, the second observation I should like to make is that for the last 10 years—that is, from 1090 to 1100—there has been a net surplus of about 28 lakhs—from 1090 to 1095, 17 lakhs or an average of three lakhs; from 1095 to 1100, about 11 lakhs or an average of 2.2 lakhs. In other words, an average of 2½ lakhs is the surplus revenue of the State for the last ten years. Now, Sir, the point is this. No State should levy and collect taxes from the people more than for what is absolutely necessary for carrying on the administration. This proposition is approved on all hands. If by any reason a surplus revenue is available, the only course left open to the Government is to utilise such revenue for the material and moral walfare of the State. There is also another point—that, if additional revenue is derived year after year, it always encourages the Government to embark upon new expenditure and sometimes unnecessary expenditure. Secondly, it creates a tendency on the part of the Government to raise the expenditure to the level of the income, and the budget shows that the statement is true. In the year 1096 the annual income of the State was 60,60,000, and the expenditure was 60,22,000. In the year 1097 the income was 55,47,000 and the expenditure 55,28,000. In the year 1098 the income was 78,78,000, and the expenditure was 74,76,000. In 1099 the revenue was 62,00,000 and the expenditure 62,00,000. Now, Sir, here the receipts or revenue, and expenditure closely correspond. Every year the receipt has gone up; the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

expenditure has also gone up. Now, as I observed before, the Government must see that all this surplus money is utilised for the material and moral welfare of the State. Yesterday, the Finance Minister stated that the resources of the State are being developed. I do not know in which way. He also stated that the expenditure is well under control, and liberal contribution has been made for the moral and material progress of the people and for the nation-building departments. He says that many liberal grants have been made for the material and moral progress of the people. What have the Government done for the moral and material progress of the people? Take first the material progress. The first thing is agriculture. You will see that in Land Revenue there is no surplus whatsoever for the last ten years. But the only redeeming quality in that department is the great efficiency and the proper management of the department under the charge of a gentleman, who, perhaps, is the most outstanding figure on the official side. He has with great energy kept down the expenditure, but unfortunately he could not increase the revenue. The revenue has remained stationary. The following are the three things that we want to achieve progress in the development of land. The first is irrigation, the second is the scientific method of cultivation, and the third is small monetary advances to needy ryots. These are the three ways by which that the Government should help at low rates of interest those engaged in agriculture. Now, what is the position? The Government, I think, has spent about fifty thousand rupees on an average per year for irrigation for the last ten years. Can the Government conscientiously say that a State, which has got a revenue of about 70 lakhs, is doing its duty properly to the poor agricultural class by spending a small sum of 50,000 rupees towards irrigation? We have about 75 or 80 per cent of our people living upon agriculture; and the Government should undertake everything within its power to improve the moral and material progress of the starving, homeless, shrunken, miserable workers or the land. The next item is sanitation. The less said about the department the better. 30 to 40 thousand rupees per year is the amount spent on rural sanitation for the last ten years. I ask you whether you yourself will consider this small sum is the proper amount to be spent on that department. The Government must spend their money on irrigation, development of cultivation, and rural sanitation. As regards the development of industries, I will refer to it later on. Now, Sir, these are the general principles that I want to impress upon the Finance Minister, and I hope that in the next year's budget the Government will make the necessary alterations, if my

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

suggestions appeal to them. Now, we come to the moral development of our people. The expenditure of the Education Department has gone up. I fully acknowledge that our Government have done as much as, if not more than, any other Governments in India in this matter.

President.—You know that your time is up.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, for the general budget discussion, with this Council we get a platform from which we could speak and reach the country. This is the best platform that is existing in Cochin, for those who take an interest in political matters. The Legislature everywhere provides the best platform to put forward popular causes and to fight for the promotion of popular ideals. The object with which the Legislature has been instituted in the State itself is to associate the people more and more progressively with the administration of their affairs. Taking that laudable object in view, it would not be in the nature of things conducive to the best interest of the land for us to stand still and work on as we have done. We want progress and political progress with the march of the times. Ideas of freedom are coming in like the waves of the sea, and where is the country that is able to turn them back? We find that Europe has been completely changed from autocracy to democracy, and that a European power, the best power in the world, is now looking out for ways and means to bring in the progressive realisation of responsible Government into India, in a safe and sound measure. Sir, it is this that makes me welcome the presence of the Agent to the Governor-General for Madras States sitting along with you to-day; I tender to him my heartfelt thanks for watching the proceedings and the orderly manner of the people of Cochin assembled here for discussion, keeping the dignity of the House. Having prefaced these remarks, I would now crave your leave to what I say next. Before doing so I would quote from that magnificent poet and student of nature—Shakespeare: He says. "Happy are they that hear their detractions and can put them to mending." If we, therefore, criticise you, Sir, you should feel that we do it for the purpose of mending things and not with any ulterior purpose or malicious motive.

President.—I sincerely welcome all modest and candid criticisms

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sometimes language which is not quite parliamentary may be used and that is the very reason I am going to tell you something has been used, here by junior members, and I crave your indulgence for those things. Sir, I would now say that the first and foremost thing that we want in Cochin is the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

embodiment of a constitution for our State. I would quote the words of Colonel Wedgewood who has been the champion of the Indian cause in the Lower House of Parliament. He had been to India to study Indian conditions. He says that the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature is entirely lacking in India. In our State too it is exactly so. Instead of the Legislature guiding the Executive, we have here the spectacle of the Executive guiding the Legislature.

President.—Not in the least.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I beg your pardon, Sir. I will come to that point immediately. You would see, Sir, that the Legislature is put entirely under the guidance of the Diwan here. He is the highest officer in the State. He is the head of what can be called the bureaucratic Government of Cochin. He is the directing authority as President of this House. That shows that the Executive has taken upon itself the task of guiding the Legislature through the proper channel. That is my complaint. The people's representatives should have been assembled here for guiding the Executive into the proper channel for their material and moral advancement.

President.—I hope that the objection is towards the Diwan presiding.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I have publicly criticised the janus aspect of the Diwan as a gentleman with two officers on either side, one, official, as the Diwan of Cochin, and the other as the President of the popular institution of Cochin. That is the position, I know it is only a transitional state of affairs. I say that in the Councils in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta we have got non-official elected Presidents. But in Cochin we have the Diwan as the President. The Government is to preside here.

President.—Is it not the Diwan who presides in the Sister State? In every Indian State, it is so, I believe.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I do not wish to compare our highly advanced cultured State with any other Indian State. No other State has progressed as we have done. I will only compare Cochin with English institutions, and I would say our ideal is not to follow the Scindia of Gwalior or the Geikwar of Baroda but to follow the best government in the world, the British Government. That is the model government. We have been teaching in our country British History, I hope, not in vain. Thereby, we have been brought into close touch with the ideas of freedom and liberty which have inspired aspirations in our minds, and the establishment of a constitution will only be in keeping with the educational advancement of the imbibed ideas that we have taken from the pages of English History. Sir, when I say that

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

our ideal exactly coincides with theancient ideals that have been prevailing in India, I make no disparagement whatsoever. This land was not lacking in executive and legislative institutions, even when England was perhaps under the thumb of the Romans. And it is well-known, in an abundant measure to a student of History, that popular institutions and two—chamber governments and village self-government were existing in India long, long ago. We are now only coming back to the same thing. By the grace of England, it is bringing us back again to the same route. I have stated the lack of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature.

Now, coming to the administration, Sir, you will find that the condition of the irrigation system existing in our State is very deplorable and the condition of the ryots equally bad as in British India. That is the reason why, perhaps, Sir, that we have got a Viceroy sent to us whose head is full of agricultural improvements. I would only say that the Government is solely responsible for the poor state of our agriculture. Research work, demonstration classes and seed distribution will help materially the agricultural progress in our State. Of the host of problems for agricultural improvement, education and co-operative credit are two of the most important. We have got here, Sir, a small Co-operative Department. That department deserves your attention in an abundant measure, for the purpose of redeeming the indebted nature of our ryots. Ryots are not looked after by the present Government. By the present Government, I mean the Government in Cochin. Sir, to put it in political language, I do not know what is meant by "the Government" in Cochin. We have got three words in our Regulations—" His Highness ", " the Sarvadhikariakkar " and "the Diwan ". Does "Government" mean these three persons ? Sometimes we find in our Regulations "Our Government ",and are we to understand it as the block of the 12 officials who sit there, (pointing to the official block) yourself being included ?

President.—Of course, you would have rightly understood what the Government is, if you had referred to the *Administration Report.*

Mr. A. B. Salem.—In the first page of the *Administration Report* it is said His Highness, the Sarvadhikariakkar and the Diwan form the Government. I would be very glad to get the information and correct myself.

Mr. A. K. Vengu Ayyar.—Please refer to Chapter 14 of the *Cochin State Manual*, page 356, and you will get the correct information.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr A. B. Salem.—Can you kindly give the information without a reference ?

President —Your time will be over now. I only want to correct you wherever you go wrong.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I do not understand what is meant by Our " Government ".

President.—Please refer to the introductory note in *the Administration Report* and to Chapter 14 of *the State Manual.*

Mr. A. B. Salem.—What we want here in Cochin is constitutional reform to be introduced in the State at an early date and everything defined properly.

Now, I would like to discuss a few points more in the Administration. I would first say, Sir, that we congratulate you as the President of this House, which could not expect a more democratic President than yourself. Sir, I wish I could congratulate you in the same way as the Diwan of Cochin ! Unfortunately, I am not in that happy position. This is not because you lack any quality of head or heart yourself but because you are in a chair a hundred years old. The chair has become soiled by time, and requires renovation badly. Every government changes. In France as well as in Portugal every day there is a government. So we also must have some change in the Government This Government machinery which we have at present is one hundred years old; it is time we over-hauled it to suit modern conditions

President.—You always want variety!

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Yes, Sir. Variety is the spice of life. In future we want a Diwan who is truly the accredited leader in whom the whole country has got its confidence. We also want a government which is charged for promoting the welfare of the people. The Diwan of the future must be a person who has got a programme chalked out for the welfare of the people, and who is anxious to bring them into existence. Only such a person should be appointed to such an exalted office in the future. That is the ideal which I earnestly wish to see established in the land.

Now, I come to a little criticism. I would criticise your action as the head of the Government with reference to the Mattancheri Municipality.

President.—I suppose we had a lot of discussion about that in this Council.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Yes, Sir. Self-government is the root idea of a Municipality. Now, it may be that self-government may not bring out results which are satisfactory on all hands.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

There may be mistakes when they make their own beds. If they make their beds badly, let them lie on them, and if they make good beds, let them enjoy the benefits thereof. I consider it very hard to have a self-governing Municipality curbed in its progress under colour of party spirit. People no doubt profit by healthy criticism.

President.—Do they improve by mutual bickerings?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—No, Sir. That is a wrong idea. Had you recalled the old Council and nominated a Chairman, I would have no more complaint. An absolutely new Council came into existence. What was your justification for interfering with the rights of the new Council? When you took away the new Council's rights, we asked for an adjournment motion. You were kind enough to state that, if the Municipality will show a better aspect, you will consider the question of restoring its right of electing its own Chairman.

President.—Don't you remember that it was only very recently that they passed a resolution, and that it is being considered by the Government.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Well, thank you, Sir.

Then, Sir, as regards the Davaswam Department. There were some complaints regarding the *karinilams*, I understand.

President.—The *Andakadi* and the other *nilams* you mean?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Yes, Sir. I only wanted to refer to it. I think you have changed the Manager, and are now looking into the matter.

President.—Is it working satisfactorily?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—That is my information, Sir.

President.—It is a change for the better then.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am making an appeal to you, Sir, that you would in the course of the next year try your best to appreciate our view-point and give us your best support.

President.—Have I not appreciated it this year?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, in the coming year I pray that you would do your best to put our beautiful little Cochin on the high road, safely, for us to march towards the goal of responsible government, and in seeking your good offices for that, I pray that all of us will be spared to see the glorious day, when we will be happy in our own land, having a government, according to our own wishes, embodying our national aspirations.

I cannot conclude this speech of mine without saying one word regarding the Harbour and the Railway. These are two things which touch us vitally. These are two things which are now prominent amongst the many subjects that agitate our minds. Our money, collected from our people, is being spent,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

and we are not given the right of watching it. I, therefore, ask you in the presence of the Agent, if that rule cannot he relaxed. It is very good to have a Harbour in Cochin. We will be only glad to co-operate with the British Government. Actuated by that spirit as we are, there is absolutely no reason why people should remain in absolute ignorance regarding these subjects, because they are members of the Cochin State. We people of Cochin are paying one-third of the expenditure, and we get no information whatsoever. My complaint is: Why should not the people, for whose benefit it will ultimately result, be given the knowledge of these things? The folk in the British Cochin Municipality know more than we do.

President.—You want non-official members to be appointed to the Post Conservancy Board?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Certainly, Sir.

Regarding the Railway also, Sir, I am conscious that it will be refused. Yet there are, in the Railway, the terminal charges which now go to other persons and which should legitimately go to the poor people of Cochin. Cooly charges are being paid for taking out bags and other luggages and other things that come in the Railway goods. For unloading, they charge four pies more. Are we to lose that amount? This is our poor people's money. I made mention of it last year as well as this year. So, I request you, Sir, to grant a little more power to this Council to enable it to consider these two subjects by making them such as can be discussed in this House. With these few words, I resume my seat.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, it has been my unpleasant task—a task born of my duty to the Government, to myself and to the people—to have had to place myself very often in opposition to the Government, their ways, their measures and their methods. Nor do I feel impelled by any of the outstanding characteristics of the budget that has been presented to this House to adopt a different attitude on this occasion. Like its predecessors, the budget of 1102 also has carefully subordinated the interests of the people to those of the rulers and of the bureaucracy. I have looked into its columns in vain to discover substantial measures of public utility, or measures which the united opinion of the people has been incessantly demanding. On the other hand, I have noted several large items therein which are intended solely for securing increased comfort and luxury to the Rulers, or to satisfy the passing fancy of the official classes. From the people's standpoint, therefore, I do not hesitate for a moment to condemn the budget as most unsatisfactory.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

It may be, Sir, that in the eyes of a Government, who are not responsible to the people and who have long been used to unrestrained absolutism, trivial concessions, such as the Government of Cochin stand credited with, would indeed assume alarming magnitudes. But we the representatives of the people are to scrutinise from the popular standpoint the actions of the Government, and the concessions they have made. If, on several questions, we do not see eye to eye with the Government, it is because, instead of the interests of the people and of the Government coinciding as they ought to, they are more often clashing. I am not surprised to hear the Diwan of Cochin, as President of this Council, congratulating his Finance Member on the very excellent speech that he made from the floor of this House yesterday in introducing the budget. Pardon me, Sir, if I differ from you, and do not see anything in the speech, or in the budget estimate, for which credit may be claimed or paid. The budget does not seem to me to be aught more than a true copy of the budgets of the past few years. On the receipt as well as on the expenditure side, grooves had formed during the period in which the destinies of this land were in the hands of foreign Diwans. Thanks to them, in spite of the alleged imperfectness of their knowledge of local conditions, they made Cochin what she is to-day. They opened for the State new permanent sources of revenue, and relieved her from the great financial crisis which it had been her misfortune to have to face. They undertook development works such as the Railway and the Harbour, opened out various parts of the State by a network of communications, showered the blessings of education on the poorer and the depressed classes, threw open the jealously guarded portals of Government service to classes till then kept out, created the consciousness of citizenship amongst the rich and and the poor alike, regardless of class, creed or colour, laid well and strongly the foundations of a Legislative Council, and generally brought Cochin in frequent and healthy contact with the world outside. The failure of some of their schemes is to be attributed not to any inherent defect in the schemes themselves, but to adverse circumstances over which they had very little control, and which only gained in strength by their departure.

To take up the thread where I left it; the grooves that had taken shape under the foreign Diwans have been scrupulously followed by their successors. Unable, perhaps, to discover avenues of increased revenue to the State, they have made free use of their axe on the expenditure side. Sir, it is not known how long we can keep ourselves in these worn-out grooves. Any

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

day, nay, any moment an unhinging may occur, and I cannot foresee where we shall land. In the words of Mr. Coates, Prime Minister of Newzealand,

"Intensive application of the principles of sound finance to every function of government is ever essential in the public interest. It is from that solid foundation created that we can build the structure of our public services and enable the development of our country to proceed.... Only by judicious care and foresight in setting our financial foundations is it possible to devote the necessary attention to all our citizens".

Dealing with receipts first, Rs. 70 lakhs and odd we anticipate, as the receipts for 1102 takes in 12 lakhs, the iniquitous income from Abkari, Ganja, Opium and Tobacco, and about five lakhs from Forests and Tramway which cannot be expected to keep on for long. It will indeed be a folly to place dependence upon these uncertain sources of revenue. None knows when a wave of teetotalism or an anti-drug campaign, coming in with a force all its own, would cut down, at least for a time, the revenue under the different heads in Excise. Even otherwise, Prohibition is rapidly being accepted as the goal by several governments, and under Prohibition the expenditure side alone would remain. The Government realises that the receipts from Customs, which this year amounts to nine lakhs and odd, must necessarily fluctuate. So that, Sir, we shall not be justified in counting on these sources as cloth in hand to cut our coat from.

Turning to the expenditure side, the demands of the "nation-building departments" are daily on the increase. We cannot effect any reduction in expenditure on the Departments of Agriculture and Panchayats, Co-operation, Education, Medicine, Sanitation and Conservancy and the Scientific Department. On the other hand, the expenditure on these heads is bound to grow in future, whether the grants that are made be well spent or ill spent—that is more a matter for the Executive. Besides, the long-pending revision of the pay of the subordinate service will involve a large drain on the resources of the State. As it is, Sir, I am not prepared to say that adequate allotments have been made for the all-important departments already referred to.

I am aware that for Panchayats the Government have allowed Rs. 31,000 more than in the current year, of which Rs. 10,000 is by transfer from Sanitation and Conservancy. While I welcome the increased grant, I must express my apprehension that, mismanaged as many of the Panchayats are at present, there are abandant chances of the grants being squandered. The supervision at present

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

exercised over the Panchayats by the Superintendent of Agriculture is next to nothing. I wait for the day when the separation of the Panchayats from Agriculture, of which hopes were once held out by the Revenue Member, would be an accomplished fact.

In regard to agriculture I wish to record my emphatic protest against the Government's spending more money on that department, as it is at present being managed. I cannot subscribe to the encomiums showered on the Superintendent of Agriculture by the Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda. The budget discussion and motions on the demands for grants last year have made clear that the Agricultural Department is one of the most inefficient of our departments. It is amazing to see the Government providing for an increase of nearly Rs. 4,500 for establishment in 'Agriculture'. That, as at present worked, the department does not serve any useful purpose is notorious. That the department has under it several employees without any work worth the name and many specialists without even a laboratory to work in is also well-known. What necessity is there, Sir, under these circumstances, to grant more money to the department under establishment.

The Co-operative Department is coming in for an unjustified reduction in expenditure. Co-operation, well developed, can be counted upon to work out the economic salvation of society, and the proposed reduction only bespeaks the Government's failure to appreciate its possibilities.

Under Educatian it is indeed pleasing to note an increased grant of Rs. 1,50,000 over the accounts of 1100. But, of this, Rs. 65,000 is to be devoted for Collegiate and Secondary Education. The time had come long ago to say halt to the increasing expenditure in these branches. I differ from the view that increase of expenditure in Primary Education should be arrested. On the other hand, free and compulsory Primary Education should be our goal. Before leaving this all-important matter, I may call attention to a small quotation setting forth the view of the present Viceroy on education.

"Much of the money we spend on education, believing that we solve the greatest of our political problems by this expenditure, is wasted. We have come to see that education is only an instrument of reform, and that it must be used in conjunction with housing reform, if it is to give us a high order of citizen. And we have also come to see that it must be more closely linked up with employment. This to say, we shall never get value for the money we spend on education, until the pepole leave in better houses and are assured of better employment. The whole atmosphere of their lives must be changed".

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Sir, our present system of education is quite unadapted to effect this change.

In "Medical," the allotment is quite insufficient. There is some increase under establishment and a considerable reduction in cost of medicines and instruments compared with the budget figures of 1101. Want of accommodation, want of drugs and want of diet have been the cries that have been ringing in our years. It is inconceivable how patients can live on a diet costing, per day, one anna nine pies and even less. The doctor who perfects the system of curing diseases by starvation will revolutionsie the accepted order of mundane affairs, and will earn the undying gratitude of the world!

The function of the Sanitary Department has not been properly appreciated, and the department is not utilised as it ought to be. Neither the Panchayats nor the Municipal Councils seek or receive instruction from this department, and I wonder who else there is to shape and regulate the work of these bodies in sanitation.

About the Scientific Department, I have very little to say. There also I note a reduction in expenditure. That department is the most important of Governmental activities from an economic point of view. But till now it has been a wasteful drain on the resources of the State. For this department the Government would do well to appoint a real expert able to develop the industries of the State.

Time does not allow me to deal in this discussion on some other departments, especially the Forest and the Tramway. These I shall deal with in the motions on demands.

But permit me to add a word about the Public Works Department. Its inefficiency has been noticed by the Member for Jenmies. It is regrettable that very few original works are intended to be undertaken, and the few that have received attention are not what the public wants. In the matter of opening new roads, the Government is evincing painful indifference. The Mukundapuram Taluk, one of our biggest taluks, with five representatives in this House, possesses only about 70 miles of roads, while Chittur, the smallest, with only two representatives, has about 106 miles. Sufficient funds are not allotted for irrigation, and experience in the past does not create confidence that the little that is allowed will be well spent. We have no Department of Irrigation, and there is nobody in the State directly in charge of that important branch of administration. Sir, I pray that this unenviable state of affairs may not be allowed to continue long.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Before I conclude my remarks on the budget allotments, I may call the attention of the House to the frequent transfers of allotments from one sub-head to another under the same demand. For example, we may have allotted Rs. 20,000 for the Leper Asylum under 'Buildings, Original', in P. W. D., and the Diwan may sanction the same amount to be diverted for a Primary School under "Buildings, Original" in the same department. While I am fully aware that unexpected demands of administration may necessitate such transfers at times, I am of opinion that the practice should never be encouraged by this Council.

I shall not be doing justice to this discussion, if I do not, in this connection, touch upon a matter which is now looming large in the political horison of India including our tiny State. This has been ably and deftly dealt with by the Member for the Jenmies. I refer to the communalism now running rampant in the land. I have been responsible for much Council literature on this subject, and I shall continue adding to it until justice is done to communities which are not adequately represented in the public services. Sir, only yesterday was a question answered in this House, giving details regarding representation of different communities in the State service. I shall quote the question and answer in full:—

"Number of people in Government service on Rs. 25 and above.

"**Mr. K. T. Mathew.**—Will the Government be pleased to state the number of people in Government service drawing Rs. 25 and above;

(b) how many of them are caste-Hindus, non-caste Hindus, Christians, Muhammadans and Jews?

"**Mr. A. K. Vengu Ayyar.**—(a) 1707.

(b)	Caste-Hindus	1,344
	Non-caste Hindus	48
	Christains	296
	Muhammodans	18
	Jews	1"

In the face of these figures, can anyone find fault with a communal cry being raised for representation in the services? The cry is only just and well-founded, and it will continue to be raised until the Government responds. The question of appointing a Staff Selection Board has already been mooted. If the Imperial Government of India and the Provincial Government of Madras can delegate some of their functions to Staff Selection Boards, I fail to see why our Government cannot do so.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly